Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 130353
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 INR-10 L-03 ACDA-12
PA-01 SS-15 SP-02 TRSE-00 EB-08 OMB-01 HA-05
OES-07 /082 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:PBSWIERS
APPROVED BY EUR:JEGOODBY
EUR/RPM:WSHINN, JR.
EUR/SOV:KNBROWN
NSC:REHUNTER
S/P:PSKAPLAN
S/MS:CWKAMMAN
----------083619 230400Z /15
O R 230309Z MAY 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T STATE 130353

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PORG

SUBJECT: ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY--PUBLIC STATEMENT
- - -
REFS: (A) USNATO 5108; (B) USNATO 4934

1. WE HAVE REVIEWED THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF DRAFT PUBLIC DOCUMENT ON THE ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY (REFTEL A). WE AGREE WITH MISSION THAT IT SERVES AS A GOOD, BUT PRELIMINARY, BASIS FOR A COMPANION PIECE TO THE SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE AND THE LTDP PUBLIC RELEASE. THIS STATEMENT WHEN RELEASED
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 130353

WILL HAVE TO REPRESENT A CAREFUL BALANCE BETWEEN THE NEED TO PRESERVE THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE STUDY ITSELF AND THE DESIRABILITY OF A DOCUMENT AS WIDE AS POSSIBLEIN ITS SCOPE.
WE ALSO
NEED TO KEEP IN MIND THAT WE WISH
TO INFLUENCE THE SOVIETS, AS MUCH AS WE DO OUR OWN PUBLIC.

2. THE STATEMENT ALSO NEEDS TO REFLECT THAT THE STUDY IS A MAJOR WORK OF THE ALLIANCE, HAVING BEEN REQUESTED, AND

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

GIVEN CLOSE ATTENTION OVER A YEAR OF HEAVY EFFORT, BY THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF OUR GOVERNMENTS.

YOU SHOULD STRESS THE IMPORTANCE TO THE ALLIES,AND TO THE SUCCESS OF THE SUMMIT, THAT RESULTS OF THIS INITIATIVE, ORIGINALLY PROPOSED IN LONDON BY PRESIDENT CARTER, BE REFLECTED IN A CREDITABLE WAY IN A PUBLIC DOCUMENT. THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF STATEMENT, WHILE APPROACHING SUCH GOALS, DOES NOT ACHIEVE THEM IN THE ABSENCE OF SEVERAL SPECIFIC CONCRETE

POINTS WHICH SUPPORT THE ANNOUNCED CONCLUSIONS AND PROVIDE CONTINUITY WITH THE ORIGINAL REASONS FOR THE ALLIANCE.

3. WE THUS SUGGEST CERTAIN ADDITIONS TO THE IS DRAFT WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL ACHIEVE THESE AIMS. THEY ARE DERIVED FROM THE STUDY, BUT HAVE BEEN SANITIZED AND OTHERWISE ADJUSTED FOR MAXIMUM PUBLIC ATTENTION, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME PRESERVING THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE DISCUSSIONS SURROUNDING THEM. WE HAVE ALSO GROUPED DEFENSE OR DETENTE POINTS TOGETHER FOR MAXIMUM READABILITY RATHER THAN MIXING TH:M. THE TEXT BELOW REPRESENTS THE ORIGINAL IS DRAFT WITH ADDITIONS DERIVED

FROM REFTEL B AS AMENDED, I.E.:

A. PARAGRAPH ONE: PARAGRAPHS 216 AND 217.

B. PARAGRAPH THREE: PARAGRAPH 244.

C. PARAGRAPH FOUR:

1) "IN FORA SUCH AS SALT, MBFR AND THE UNSSOD" IS NEW.

2) PARAGRAPH 238.

D. PARAGRAPH SIX: PARAGRAPH 221.

E. PARAGRAPH SEVEN: PARAGRAPH 223 AND 225.

G. PARAGRAPH EIGHT: PARAGRAPHS 228 AND 229.

H. PARAGRAPH NINE: PARAGRAPH 237.

I. PARAGRAPH TEN: PARAGRAPH 239.

K. PARAGRAPH 11: PARAGRAPH 242.

L. PARAGRAPH 12: PARAGRAPHS 240 AND 241.

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

M. PARAGRAPH 13: PARAGRAPHS 244 AND 230.

N. PARAGRAPH 14: PARAGRAPH 244.

4. BEGIN TEXT (PARAGRAPH NUMBERS FOR DISCUSSION CONVENIENCE):

ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 130353

PUBLIC STATEMENT.

1. IN THE SITUATION OF INSECURITY AFTER WORLD WAR II, THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY AFFIRMED THE DETERMINATION OF ITS SIGNATORIES TO ALLY THEMSELVES "TO SAFEGUARD THE FREEDOM, COMMON HERITAGE AND CIVILIZATION OF THEIR PEOPLES, FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND THE RULE OF LAW... TO PROMOTE STABILITY AND WELL-BEING...AND TO UNITE THEIR EFFORTS FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE AND FOR THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE AND SECURITY." ALTHOUGH THE WORLD HAS PROFOUNDLY CHANGED SINCE THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY WAS SIGNED, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE WESTERN COUNTRIES AND THOSE OF THE WARSAW PACT REMAIN AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT AND MOST SENSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. WITHIN THE NEXT DECADE, A NEW GENERATION OF LEADERS WILL COME TO POWER IN MANY OF THESE COUNTRIES, AND THE WAY IN WHICH THESE RELATIONS DEVELOP
WILL SIGNIFICANTLY SHAPE THE FUTURE OF THE INTER-NATIONAL COMMUNITY.

2. AT THE LONDON SUMMIT IN MAY 1977, ALLIED LEADERS THEREFORE REQUESTED THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL "TO MAKE A FRESH STUDY OF LONG-TERM TRENDS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND TO ASSESS THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE." THUS, THE ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY, WAS TO BE COMPLETED FOR THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT OF 1978. ALL ALLIES ACTIVELY PAR-TICIPATED IN IT, THROUGH PAPERS PREPARED IN CAPITALS, INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM HIGH LEVEL EXPERTS AND INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS THROUGH THE COUNCIL AND SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. THE STUDY WAS PRESENTED TO ALLIED LEADERS FOR DISCUSSION. THEY APPROVED IT ON MAY (30) (31), 1978.

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 130353

3. THE ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY AFFIRMS THE CONTINUING VALIDITY FOR THE NEXT DECADE OF THE COMPLEMENTARY GOALS OF THE MAINTENANCE OF MILITARY SECURITY AND THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE, IDENTIFIED IN THE HARMEL REPORT OF 1967.

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

IN THE FACE OF THE STEADY MILITARY BUILD-UP BY THE SOVIET UNION, THE STUDY CONFIRMS THAT THE MAINTENANCE OF A SATISFACTORY MILITARY BALANCE IS A PREREQUISITE FOR THE SUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF DETENTE. IT RECOGNIZES THEREFORE THAT THE ALLIES MUST CONTINUE TO ENSURE AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM OF DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE, TO PRESERVE THEIR SECURITY AND TO DISCOURAGE ANY TEMPTATION FOR OTHERS TO TRANSLATE THEIR MILITARY STRENGTH INTO THE EXPANSION OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

4. AT THE SAME TIME, THE STUDY CONFIRMS THAT MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD MAINTAIN THEIR EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES OF THE EAST; IN PARTICULAR, THAT THEY SHOULD CONTINUE TO PURSUE THEIR GOALS FOR ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT, IN FORA SUCH AS SALT, MBFR AND THE UNSSOD, IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE SECURITY AT A LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES. THE STUDY RECOMMENDS THAT THE ALLIES CONTINUE THE EXPANSION OF CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE.
THE STUDY ALSO CITES THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS AS A FACTOR IN DETENTE. IT FURTHER CONCLUDES THAT THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT CONTINUES TO BE A VALUABLE MEANS OF MONITORING AND ENCOURAGING PROGRESS IN DETENTE. IN THIS REGARD, THE STUDY CALLS TO ALLIED ATTENTION THAT DETENTE CANNOT BE APPLIED SELECTIVELY AND THAT ATTEMPTS TO GAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES, PARTICULARLY BY ARMED EXTERNAL INTERVENTION, COULD ENDANGER IT.

5. THE ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY TAKES AS ITS TIME FRAME THE PERIOD THROUGH THE LATE NINETEEN EIGHTIES. IT IS CARRIED OUT IN THREE PARTS. THE ALLIES FIRST ANALYZE THE
SECRET

TRENDS IN SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES, AND THEN ASSESS THE POSSIBLE SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CONDUCT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS FLOWING FROM THESE TRENDS. THE ALLIES CONCLUDE THE STUDY BY CONSIDERING THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE OF THESE TRENDS AND POSSIBLE ATTITUDES. THE FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT FORMS THE BASIS FOR THE STUDY'S CONCLUSIONS:

DEFENSE

6. THE ALLIES FOUND THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD, WHEREVER POSSIBLE, ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE "CORRELATION OF FORCES" IN ITS OWN FAVOR. IT WOULD CONTINUE TO ASSERT ITSELF AS A SUPERPOWER SEEKING PARITY AND AN EQUAL ROLE IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS WITH THE UNITED STATES. ITS FIRST CONCERN WOULD, HOWEVER, REMAIN DEFENSE OF THE HOMELAND ON BOTH WESTERN AND EASTERN FRONTIERS, INCLUDING RE-

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

TENTION OF THE EUROPEAN GLACIS GAINED FROM THE LAST WAR. BEYOND THE GLACIS, THE SOVIET UNION WILL MAINTAIN ITS EFFORTS TO ASSERT ITSELF AS THE DOMINANT POWER IN EUROPE. OUTSIDE EUROPE, THE SOVIET UNION WILL CONTINUE TO TAKE SUCH OPPORTUNITIES AS OCCUR TO EXTEND ITS PRESENCE AND INFLU-ENCE, WHENEVER THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT PROVOKING A DANGEROUS CONFRONTATION WITH THE WEST. IN ASIA IT WILL CONTINUE TO VIEW CHINA AS A MAJOR SECURITY THREAT.

7. THE STEADY ENHANCEMENT OF SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH

ACROSS THE ENTIRE RANGE OF CAPABILITIES WOULD THUS REMAIN A TOP PRIORITY FOR THE KREMLIN. IN THE ABSENCE OF ADEQUATE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS, A BALANCE SATISFACTORY TO THE ALLIES IN

SECRET

STRATEGIC, THEATER NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL TERMS,LINKED TOGETHER IN ONE CONTINUUM OF DEFENSE AND DETERRENCE, COULD ONLY BE ASSURED BY MEASURES TO MODERNIZE AND STRENGTHEN THE MILITARY CAPACITY OF THE ALLIES. THE STUDY CONCLUDED THAT THE MAINTENANCE OF SUCH A BALANCE IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND FOR THE PURSUIT OF A REAL POLICY OF DETENTE.

DETENTE

8. PROGRESS IN THE FIELD OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT WAS VIEWED INDISPENSABLE FOR A DURABLE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THE MAINTENANCE OF UNDIMINSHED AND IF POSSIBLE BETTER OR IMPROVED SECURITY AT LOWER LEVELS OF ARMAMENTS AND ARMED FORCES MUST BE AT CONSTANT AIM. POS,TIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE US/SOVIET STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, IN A MANNER COMPATIBLE WITH THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES, WERE SPECIFICALLY SEEN AS A MAJOR OBJECTIVE. THE ALLIES ALSO EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO TACKLE THE REAL CAUSES OF DANGER, NOT LEAST THE IMBALANCE IN THE CONVENTIONAL FIELD.

9. THE GROWTH OF TRADE AND OF ECONOMIC LINKS WITH THE WEST CAN, WITHIN CERTAIN LIMITS, LEAD THE SOVIET UNION TO FEEL MORE CLOSELY INVOLVED WITH THE

LATTER, THEREBY REINFORCING DETENTE. HOWEVER, SOME OF THE AREAS IN WHICH THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE SHOWN A MAJOR INTEREST IN WESTERN TECHNOLOGY ARE RELEVANT TO AREAS WHERE THEY LAG BEHIND THE WEST MILITARILY.

10. ACTIVE AS THE SOVIET UNION IS IN THE THIRD WORLD, IN PARTICULAR IN THE FIELD OF MILITARY AID, IT WAS BELIEVED THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT BE WILLING TO PROVIDE

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

SUBSTANTIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. THEY HAVE ALSO SHOWN
SECRET

NO DISPOSITION TO ENTER THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE WAY. ALLIANCE COUNTRIES COULD ENCOURAGE THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES TO PLAY A MORE FORTHCOMING ROLE IN HELPING TO MEET THE ECONOMIC NEEDS OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD, AND TO ADOPT A MORE POSITIVE APPROACH IN INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSIONS ON TRADE AND AID ISSUES. THE STUDY ALSO CALLED ATTENTION TO THE MANY ASSETS WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE FOR ADDRESSING THIRD WORLD ASPIRATIONS.

11. THE STUDY NOTED THAT IDEOLOGY WOULD CONTINUE TO INFLUENCE THE SOVIET UNION'S PERCEPTION OF WORLD AFFAIRS AND WOULD BE USED BY IT FOR POLITICAL ENDS. IN THIS SITUATION, THE STUDY RECOMMENDED THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT BE DETERRED FROM EPHASIZING THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL VITALITY OF THE WEST,WHERE THERE ARE NO BARRIERS TO THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION AND IDEAS. THE EASTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO EXTEND THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WEST WHILE DENYING OTHERS THE RIGHT TO CRITICIZE THEM.

12. IT WAS FELT THAT HUMAN RIGHTS MIGHT SLOWLY EVOLVE IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN THE OTHER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD THEREFORE CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THAT, AS STATED IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS AN ESSENTIAL FACTOR FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND COOPERATION. THEY SHOULD ALSO DO ALL THEY CAN TO BRING ABOUT IMPROVEMENTS IN THIS SPHERE AND IN THE REALM OF INDIVIDUAL CONTACTS. THE ALLIES CONCLUDED THAT THEY MUST CONTINUE TO UPHOLD THE VIEW THAT GROSS VIOLATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS COULD ADVERSELY AFFECT AN IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES.
SECRET

THE ALLIED ROLE

13. THE STUDY REAFFIRMED THE COMMITMENT OF EACH ALLY TO PLAY ITS FULL ROLE IN THE PROCESS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS WITH THE DIVERSITY AND FREEDOM OF ACTION AND

DECISION WHICH HAS ALWAYS CHARACTERIZED THEIR APPROACH. IT ALSO FOUND THAT THE ALLIANCE REMAINS THE MOST EFFECTIVE FORUM FOR ALLIED CONSULTATIONS ON THOSE MATTERS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS WHICH THE 1974 OTTAWA DECLARATION DEFINED AS WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE. THE EMERGENCE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WAS ALSO SEEN

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

AS STRENGTHENING THE HAND OF THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES AND AS A STABILIZING FACTOR IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

14. FINALLY, THROUGH THE STUDY, THE ALLIES CONFIRMED THE NEED TO MAINTAIN AND REINFORCE THEIR SOLIDARITY AND COHESION. THEY REAFFIRMED THAT THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE CONSTITUTES THE FIRM GUARANTEE OF THE SECURITY AND FREEDOM OF THEIR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES AND OF PEACE. END TEXT.

5. CHARGE MAY WISH TO RAISE THESE PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS AT MAY 23 PERMREPS LUNCH. THE ABOVE TEXT HAS NOT BEEN FULLY CLEARED AND SHOULD BE USED ONLY ON AN AD REFERENDUM BASIS.

VANCE

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ALLIANCE, PUBLIC DISCLOSURE, FOREIGN RELATIONS, STUDIES, REGIONAL DEFENSE ORGANIZATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 may 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE130353
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/RPM:PBSWIERS
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780216-0398
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197805112/baaaeysc.tel
Line Count: 344
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c67a3895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: (A) USNATO 5108; (B) USNATO 4934
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2540385
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY--PUBLIC STATEMENT - - -
TAGS: PORG, XH, XT, NATO
To: USNATO INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c67a3895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014